

20c JULY 6, 1953

THE FREEDOM TO READ

New Republic



SENATOR
WAYNE MORSE:

My Personal
Declaration of
Independence

WISCONSIN: THE WAR
AGAINST EISENHOWER

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS:

KENNETH CLARK

MARK SCHORER

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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Johnson City, Tennessee

JUL 6 1953

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From Our Readers

Los Angeles Schools

● 13,867 persons in the Los Angeles school system from superintendents to substitute teachers were given an opportunity recently to sound off anonymously about their school administration. The results may interest readers of the *New Republic*. The school personnel were generally favorable toward their immediate superiors, their choice of profession, the ability of their supervisors, personal freedom outside the classroom and opportunity for advancement. A little more than half were satisfied with work demands, working conditions and professional administrators.

In contrast their attitude toward the Los Angeles School Board was expressed in a 75-percent vote of "no confidence." The reasons were summarized politely in the research report:

From the more than 8,500 written comments the results indicate that while the community is justifiably concerned lest the Los Angeles city schools be used to teach Communist or Socialist doctrines, educators feel that these well-meant efforts have now overshoot their goals and have reached the point where many teachers feel inhibited in discussing any controversial topics in class.

An elementary school principal is reported as saying:

I don't like to see teachers made to feel they are treading in dangerous territory if they discuss vital problems that face the world today or try to answer students' questions or allow them to discuss material they read and conversations they overhear.

These issues raged warmly during the school-board campaign before the April 7 elections. The *Daily News* asserted: "The people are fed up with a school board that . . . despoils the educational system by intimidating teachers so they cannot teach except in a strait-jacket of conformity." The *News*, however, was wrong—the public was not "fed up." Only the teachers were.

The three incumbents up for election on April 7 were reelected. They were anti-Communist to the point of professional hysteria, and spotted "Red" throughout the UNESCO program.

One of the returned incumbents, Mrs. Edith K. Stafford, recommended that school books be purged of any reference to authors accused of Communism. She even sought to expunge any bibliographical reference to such books.

Mrs. Ruth Cole, another successful incumbent, has advocated that the school system buy books only from publishers who demand loyalty oaths of their authors. Apparently unable to spot out-and-

out Red propaganda in the school system, Mrs. Cole explains that this propaganda is extremely subtle. "It is so subtle," she contends, "that only two or three experts in the state can detect it." How anything so subtle that it escapes all but the most qualified "experts" can be pounded into the heads of school children also was "explained" by Mrs. Cole in a recent speech. "It works like little drops of water. Over a period of time it permeates."

Direct pressure from the board is only part of its harassment of teachers. Its co-operation with other groups, such as state and Congressional investigating committees, and its support of repressive legislation in Sacramento bear down hard. In co-operation with the State Senate Un-American Activities Committee it has recently concluded a loyalty investigation of every teacher in the system. The probe is said to have been instituted by the school board's loyalty committee which encountered legal restrictions in questioning teachers. It called on the Senate committee which has more latitude in asking questions concerning political leanings and associations.

School authorities for the last three years have kept a record of tips and memoranda which link teachers with Communism or Communist association. Congressional loyalty committees take frequent tours to Los Angeles to peer into "patriotisms" in the classroom.

For all these efforts the school board has not gone unrewarded. About three weeks before the April elections the state senate passed a resolution introduced by Sen. Jack Tenney commending the three "patriotic" incumbents for "eliminating subversive and Communist material from school textbooks."

Now the Los Angeles *Times* has told the people not to be fooled by the results of the teacher survey:

This cannot be applauded but it can be explained. Workers in large, multi-plant organizations are apt to feel remote from top management and to express misgivings under guarantee of anonymity.

The group surveyed was not a cross-section but a very special group, primarily members of the teaching profession. . . . These complaints . . . derive from the common suspicion among specialists of any kind that they, and their fellow specialists, know infinitely more about their subject than mere "laymen," however exalted their authority. *Los Angeles, Calif.* ROBERT H. SOLLEN

The Williamsburg

● The Presidential yacht *Williamsburg* sailed on her last cruise this week, carrying a group of veterans for an outing. Now she is bound for the mothballs, a symbol of the President's well-publicized desire to save the taxpayers money. As a symbol she deserves a closer look,

(Continued on page 4)

To Our Readers

● It seems that we were all wrong. It wasn't the Republican voters, as we supposed, who sent McCarthy to Washington. It wasn't the Republican press that headlined his charges. It wasn't the Republican Minority Leader who advised him that if one charge was disproved to go on to the next. It wasn't the Republican Presidential candidate who grasped his hand and called for his re-election. These things were done by the liberals.

This hitherto unsuspected chapter in American history is revealed by *Time*, the weekly news magazine. It explains: "The liberals saw in his distortions and exaggerations a chance to divert attention from the bedroom scene."

Since the liberals created McCarthy, why do they fear him? The answer to that costs another 20 cents and is found in *Life*. There Whittaker Chambers reveals that "reforming liberals" are really "un-Marxian Socialists" secretly plotting the welfare state. "There is a strong family resemblance between the Communist state and the welfare state," Chambers adds. "The ends each has in view have much in common." That is why, Chambers concludes, "At every move against Communism liberal nerves become unglued."

And who are the "un-Marxian Socialists" who seek to conceal from Americans that their objectives are those of the Communists? *Life* identifies them. They are Senator Symington, Averell Harriman, Bishop Donegan and Mrs. Agnes Meyer.

Should they and we feel pity for witnesses summoned by McCarthy, Jenner and Velde? Certainly not, says Chambers. In a remark that might have been made by the Grand Inquisitor, he notes, "I have yet to see one witness called before a Congressional hearing who could be called 'innocent' . . . in the sense that he had no connection whatever with the matters under scrutiny, had never been involved or touched by them in any way."

No one then is innocent. But some of us were naïve enough to suppose that the Constitution still protected the nation against our errors. No, say Chambers and *Life*. "Our laws and institutions are no longer able to protect themselves by traditional means." Nor presumably is the spirit which gave rise to these laws and institutions of relevance today.

So Chambers draws the winding sheet over the face of reason while *Time* decrees that McCarthy, the liberal creation, shall cease to exist. We suspect that both pronouncements of death are premature.

M. S.

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE EISENHOWER notion seems to be that we can't afford to defend ourselves. Ancient Rome fell on the same theory. Truman asked \$40.7 billion for defense; Ike cut the request to \$35.7 billion, the House Appropriations Committee has now reduced it to \$34.4 billion. The thesis is that high defense taxes are more dangerous than Moscow A-bombs. Curiously enough, under these taxes the nation has never been more prosperous.

Truman rousinglly denounced the defense cuts last week at Philadelphia. It would be funny, wouldn't it, if history should place little Harry Truman ahead of the



great General Ike as President? Yet to compare the two. Harry would (1) never have called TVA "creeping socialism"; (2) would never have given away offshore oil; (3) would never have let the State Department indulge in book burning while uttering noble generalizations against it; (4) would never have put tax cuts ahead of defense; and (5) would never have let McCarthy poison America's global prestige.

We have always thought the worst thing Truman ever did was to put Tom Clark on the Supreme Court. But Ike pretty nearly tied the score by picking a character named Tom Lyon to head the Bureau of Mines. (John J. Forbes, world-known for mine safety work, was dropped after 38 years of career service to make the vacancy.) We suppose the Administration was so busy investigating Lyon's security record that it couldn't find out how he felt about the Federal Mine Safety Act. With admirable candor Lyon told shocked Senators he regarded it as a "phony," that "human life is becoming very cheap" anyway, that he was receiving a \$5,000 revocable pension from the Anaconda Copper Co. John L. Lewis was waiting in the wings to blast Lyon, but the white-faced Administration hastily withdrew his name. What would Lewis have said? His failure

to testify is the greatest Washington disappointment in five years. Just in working himself up, booming Mr. Lewis called Lyon a "comparative ignoramus." Oh, to have been present as Old Eye-brows offered his full Shakespearean treatment! Alas, like the sneeze that won't come, the itch you can't scratch, the love affair that's not consummated, Washington sadly turns the blank page of Lewis versus Lyon.

Eisenhower's curious trick of picking men to enforce regulatory acts in which they disbelieve, caused the CIO Political Action bulletin to observe: "Too bad that Samuel Insull is not alive; he could be appointed chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission." This lends itself to a fascinating game; here are some suggested entries for Administration posts: Battle Monuments Commission, William Penn; Tariff Commission, Reed Smoot; American Red Cross, Caligula; Civil Service, Gen. Andrew Jackson; Federal Reserve System, Charles Ponzi; Labor Relations Board, George Pullman; Housing Commission, ex-Representative Albert Cole (the Incumbent). Go on from here.

We have always contended Washington is the best show on earth. The case of battery additive AD-X2 has just that mystical quality which modern business needs and which rejoices the spectator. The Bureau of Standards says the mysterious white crystals are a mixture of epsom salts and glauber salts. ("You give one to men and the other to horses.") Quantities costing five cents are sold for \$36 by the persuasive manufacturer who claims it will double the life of auto batteries. For saying it has no value at all Dr. Astin was fired from the world-famous Bureau by incoming Secretary Sinclair Weeks. Boston's Mr. Weeks is that type of businessman who believes traffic lights should be abolished to aid private enterprise. Weeks' own

firm used AD-X2, and the fascinating thing is that businessman after businessman comes forward to swear to its value (which is denied by three defense laboratories besides the Bureau). What is on trial here before the Senate Small Business Committee is really Modern Science versus Human Faith—and the Committee leans to AD-X2. As Chairman Edward Thyne (R, Minn.) wearily says, "I just don't believe hard-fisted American businessmen could be fooled that long." There may be something profoundly significant in this revolt of practical men against science and the intellectuals; Defense Secretary Wilson repeatedly shows the same scorn in asking slashes in current Air Force research work, and refers slightly to "pure science." This may yet be known as the AD-X2 Administration.

Leading GOP internationalist in Congress is Chairman Alexander Wiley (Wis.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He bluntly demands that Eisenhower take a stand for him against Wisconsin isolationists who, under the McCarthy banner, passed a resolution repudiating him at the recent Madison GOP convention. Wiley supported Ike, he says in effect; now will Ike support Wiley? McCarthy is the man, you remember, who said of the freeing of North Korean prisoners, "Freedom-loving people throughout the world should applaud the action of Syngman Rhee."

Time magazine came up last week with word that McCarthy is just a "myth"—built up by "liberals." Ignore him and he'll disappear! Since 80 percent of the press has been busy ignoring McCarthy's baleful influence for a long time, this is really a resounding compliment to the influence of such a liberal organ as the *New Republic*. While it is true we don't have a three million circulation exactly, we modestly feel we have been doing a fair job on McCarthy.

First big departure from the new Eisenhower Administration will be Dr. Robert L. Johnson, scape-goat for the State Department's "book-burning." . . . We are going to buy truce in Korea even at Rhee's high price.

Washington

T.R.B.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 2)

She was built as a private yacht for Hugh J. Chisholm, who sold her to the Navy in 1941. For four years she served nobly as a patrol gunboat in the North Atlantic. In 1945 she was refurbished for the Chief Executive. (T.R., Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover all used yachts.) From then on she was as much a floating workshop as a pleasure craft. Indeed, it was aboard the *Williamsburg* that many of the plans for the Atlantic Charter, the UN, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Japanese Peace Treaty took form.

But now the President has banished the *Williamsburg* to the limbo of forgotten ships, for, as he said: 'It costs the American people \$150,000 a year to keep the *Williamsburg* afloat, a needless show of waste and extravagance, without which the American people can easily do.'

Much applause greeted this stern resolve. Yet the Navy's Bureau of Ships estimates that it will cost the government approximately \$600,000 to mothball the *Williamsburg*—or precisely what it would cost to keep her afloat for the next four years.

However, the Bureau adds that no known technique for mothballing can arrest inevitable deterioration and that probably within three years the vessel will have to be sold as junk or given to some naval museum.

So, to save the government a fictitious \$150,000 a year, Mr. Eisenhower will throw away a piece of property worth about \$4 million.

But there are further factors. The *Williamsburg*, since its refitting a year ago, is one of the best-equipped ships in the Navy, so far as communications are concerned. Everyone knows that Washington is a prime target for a sneak atomic attack. Should such a catastrophe threaten, the President would have, in the *Williamsburg*, an alternate White House that could tie up in any of the Virginia Roads, Chesapeake Bay or the inland waterways. From the yacht the President could run the country in comparative safety.

During another economy period President Hoover de-commissioned the *Mayflower*. Its value was \$2.5 million. Within a year it was sold by the Navy to a private buyer for \$16,000.

San Francisco, Calif.

JOHN GERRITY

Book Burning

● Regarding your very illuminating issue of June 29 on Book Burning. . . .

. . . The town I am writing this letter from is Wellington, Kansas, 30 miles south of metropolitan Wichita, typically Midwestern and with a population of some 9,000 souls. I visited the Wellington Public Library yesterday. A fine institu-

tion, well-administered and clean. But, someone "sits" on books there I'm afraid! I couldn't find a single recent liberal volume, no volume criticizing the infamous Senator from Wisconsin, and not even copies of the middle-of-the-road periodicals the *New Republic* and the *Progressive*. They evidently used to subscribe to these magazines but the Senator has frightened them to a degree of frenzy. Of course they have *U.S. News and World Report* and the *DAR Magazine*, of dubious rightist reputation. I'd wager that *Time* and *Life* will become too liberal here very soon and be "burned." . . .

I'm not picking on Wellington, Kansas. This instance is typical of what I've found in dozens of small cities.

Wellington, Kansas

FRANK S. DAVIS

Bandwagon

McCarthy Asserts Silence Convicts

—Headline from The New York Times

* * *

Wesley Williams, board member, pointed out that ADA is not strictly political. "There are Republicans in it," he said.—From the *Washington Post*.

* * *

Oregon Girls' State was told at its 12th annual conclave at Willamette University that Senator Joseph McCarthy has "served a wonderful purpose in America."

William D. Browne, chief of detectives, Portland police department, in an address on Communism and Communism's propaganda techniques, said he did not know of a "single person McCarthy has singled out for attack that has proved his innocence." —From the *Oregon Journal*.

* * *

He said he thought 99 percent of all mining accidents are caused by "individual miners." He did not think any company "would wilfully do anything that would cause an accident" because accidents cost too much money. —From *Congressional testimony of Tom Lyon, nominated by President Eisenhower to head the US Bureau of Mines, reported in the Washington Post*.

* * *

Q. Are there any Communists in nudist parks?

A. Communists and other subversives are specifically barred from membership in the American Sunbathing Association or participation in nudist activities. There are no known subversives in American nudist parks. —From *Modern Sunbathing and Hygiene*.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. —The Editors.



FREEDOM TO READ

The following declaration, approved by the American Book Publishers Council and adopted by the American Library Association, is published here in place of our editorial.

THE FREEDOM to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities in various parts of the country are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks, to label "controversial" books, to distribute lists of "objectionable" books or authors, and to purge libraries.

These actions apparently arise from a view that our national tradition of free expression is no longer valid; that censorship and suppression are needed to avoid the subversion of politics and the corruption of morals. We, as citizens devoted to the use of books and as librarians and publishers responsible for disseminating them, wish to assert the public interest in the preservation of the freedom to read.

We are deeply concerned about these attempts at suppression. Most such attempts rest on a denial of the fundamental premise of democracy: that the ordinary citizen, by exercising his critical judgment, will accept the good and reject the bad. The censors, public and private, assume that they should determine what is good and what is bad for their fellow citizens.

We trust Americans to recognize propaganda, and to reject obscenity. We do not believe they need the help of censors to assist them in this task. We do not believe they are prepared to sacrifice their heritage of a free press in order to be "protected" against what others think may be bad for them. We believe they still favor free enterprise in ideas and expression.

We are aware, of course, that books are not alone in being subjected to efforts at suppression. We are aware that these efforts are related to a larger pattern of pressures being brought against education, the press, films, radio and television. The problem is not only one of actual censorship. The shadow of fear cast by these pressures leads, we suspect, to an even larger voluntary curtailment of expression by those who seek to avoid controversy.

Such pressure toward conformity is perhaps natural to a time of uneasy change and pervading fear. Especially

when so many of our apprehensions are directed against an ideology, the expression of a dissident idea becomes a thing feared in itself, and we tend to move against it as against a hostile deed, with suppression.

And yet suppression is never more dangerous than in such a time of social tension. Freedom has given the United States the elasticity to endure strain. Freedom keeps open the path of novel and creative solutions, and enables change to come by choice. Every silencing of a heresy, every enforcement of an orthodoxy, diminishes the toughness and resilience of our society and leaves it the less able to deal with stress.

Now as always in our history, books are among our greatest instruments of freedom. They are almost the only means for making generally available ideas or manners of expression that can initially command only a small audience. They are the natural medium for the new idea and the untried voice, from which come the original contributions to social growth. They are essential to the extended discussion which serious thought requires, and to the accumulation of knowledge and ideas into organized collections.

We believe that free communication is essential to the preservation of a free society and a creative culture. We believe that these pressures toward conformity present the danger of limiting the range and variety of inquiry and expression on which our democracy and our culture depend.

We believe that every American community must jealously guard the freedom to publish and to circulate, in order to preserve its own freedom to read. We believe that publishers and librarians have a profound responsibility to give validity to that freedom to read by making it possible for the reader to choose freely from a variety of offerings.

The freedom to read is guaranteed by the Constitution. Those with faith in free men will stand firm on these constitutional guarantees of essential rights and will exercise the responsibilities that accompany these rights.

We therefore affirm these propositions:

1. *It is in the public interest for publishers and librarians to make available the widest diversity of views and expressions including those which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority.*

Creative thought is by definition new, and what is new is different. The bearer of every new thought is a rebel

until his idea is refined and tested. Totalitarian systems attempt to maintain themselves in power by the ruthless suppression of any concept which challenges the established orthodoxy. The power of a democratic system to adapt to change is vastly strengthened by the freedom of its citizens to choose widely from among conflicting opinions offered freely to them. . . .

2. *Publishers and librarians do not need to indorse every idea or presentation contained in the books they make available. It would conflict with the public interest for them to establish their own political, moral or aesthetic views as the sole standard for determining what books should be published or circulated.*

Publishers and librarians serve the educational process by helping to make available knowledge and ideas required for the growth of the mind and the increase of learning. . . . It is wrong that what one man can read should be confined to what another thinks proper.

3. *It is contrary to the public interest for publishers or librarians to determine the acceptability of a book solely on the basis of the personal history or political affiliations of the author.*

A book should be judged as a book. No art or literature can flourish if it is to be measured by the political views or private lives of its creators. No society of free men can flourish which draws up lists of writers to whom it will not listen, whatever they may have to say.

4. *The present laws dealing with obscenity should be vigorously enforced. Beyond that, there is no place in our society for extra-legal efforts to coerce the taste of others, to confine adults to the reading matter deemed suitable for adolescents, or to inhibit the efforts of writers to achieve artistic expression.*

To some, much of modern literature is shocking. But is not much of life itself shocking? We cut off literature at the source if we prevent serious artists from dealing with the stuff of life. . . . In these matters taste differs, and taste cannot be legislated; nor can machinery be devised which will suit the demands of one group without limiting the freedom of others. We deplore the catering to the immature, the retarded or the maladjusted taste. But those concerned with freedom have the responsibility of seeing to it that each individual book or publication, whatever its contents, price or method of distribution, is dealt with in accordance with due process of law.

5. *It is not in the public interest to force a reader to accept with any book the prejudgment of a label characterizing the book or author as subversive or dangerous.*

The idea of labeling supposes the existence of individuals or groups with wisdom to determine by authority what is good or bad for the citizen. It supposes that each

individual must be directed in making up his mind about the ideas he examines. But Americans do not need others to do their thinking for them.

6. *It is the responsibility of publishers and librarians, as guardians of the people's freedom to read, to contest encroachments upon that freedom by individuals or groups seeking to impose their own standards or tastes upon the community at large.*

It is inevitable in the give and take of the democratic process that the political, the moral, or the aesthetic concepts of an individual or group will occasionally collide with those of another individual or group.

In a free society each individual is free to determine for himself what he wishes to read, and each group is free to determine what it will recommend to its freely associated members. But no group has the right to take the law into its own hands, and to impose its own concepts of politics or morality upon other members of a democratic society.

7. *It is the responsibility of publishers and librarians to give full meaning to the freedom to read by providing books that enrich the quality of thought and expression. By exercise of this affirmative responsibility, bookmen can demonstrate that the answer to a bad book is a good one, the answer to a bad idea is a good one.*

The freedom to read is of little consequence when expended on the trivial; it is frustrated when the reader cannot obtain matter fit for his purpose. What is needed is not only the absence of restraint, but the positive provision of opportunity for the people to read the best that has been thought and said.

Books are the major channel by which the intellectual inheritance is handed down, and the principal means of its testing and growth. The defense of their freedom and integrity, and the enlargement of their service to society, requires of all bookmen the utmost of their faculties, and deserves of all citizens the fullest support.

* * * * *

We state these propositions neither lightly nor as easy generalizations. We here stake out a lofty claim for the value of books. We do so because we believe that they are good, possessed of enormous variety and usefulness, worthy of cherishing and keeping free. We realize that the application of these propositions may mean the dissemination of ideas and manners of expression that are repugnant to many persons.

We do not state these propositions in the comfortable belief that what people read is unimportant. We believe rather that what people read is deeply important; that ideas can be dangerous; but that the suppression of ideas is fatal to a democratic society. Freedom itself is a dangerous way of life, but it is ours.

THE WEEK

WHITEWASH—NEW ADDITIVE FOR AD-X2

When Dr. Allen V. Astin was temporarily reinstated as Director of the National Bureau of Standards and Commerce Secretary Weeks announced that a special committee was to study the Bureau's work on the battery nostrum AD-X2, Sen. Edward Thye (Minn.) cancelled the hearings scheduled by the Senate Small Business Committee. Thye said: "Any Committee hearings might well becloud the issue at this time rather than clarify it."

Then Thye changed his mind. His reasons were presented on June 20 at a press conference. He stated that the issue before the Committee was: "Have agencies of the government been fair and just in the treatment of Mr. Ritchie and his product?" He may have better revealed his full purpose, however, in his subsequent discussion of the suspended Post Office fraud order against the promoter. Here his interest in removing this "cloud" over the promoter was evident.

The hearings between June 22 and June 26 have brought the promoter, Dr. Weber of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Astin, and various users or sellers of the product to the stand. The hearings have elicited little evidence on the issue as Thye defined it. Whether the promoter received fair and just treatment from government agencies should have led to a consideration of the relations between these agencies and the promoter, the extent and nature of government tests, and the merits of the promoter's claim as well as a study of his promotional tactics.

The Committee has shown negligible interest in these fundamental questions. The promoter's claims are assumed to be sound, and the Committee appears to put full credence in lay testimonials. Several employees (mechanics and maintenance men) of the Department of Defense have presented favorable testimonials, as have two distributors of the promoter and four civilian users.

The significance of lay testimonials is

important. Appreciation of this either on the part of the Committee or the press (whose reports have been perfunctory rather than penetrating) is lacking. It is well known that lay testimony is not valid on technical matters, and the courts have repeatedly so ruled. Not only does the Committee fail to recognize this but it shows itself (with the exception of Humphrey and Smathers) to be incapable of dealing with the obviously questionable aspects of the testimonials. Thus, most of the written testimonials which had been widely distributed by the promoter state that they have been made at the request of the promoter. The Committee appears to believe that they are voluntary expressions of grateful, satisfied customers. Curiously, most of these testimonials are worded in remarkably similar language and often have similar structure.

The Committee, however, is primarily concerned with the businessman and his freedom to make money. Weeks set the theme by his testimony on March 31, when, while simultaneously attacking the National Bureau of Standards, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Post Office, he advanced that ultimate criterion—the "market place." Thye and Ferguson have revealed that they too uphold this criterion of ultimate scientific validity and that if the promoter fails to produce customary complaints, the sale of a nostrum is justified and its claims must be presumed to be true.

No realization of the long history of nostrums, all with their claims and testimonials, mars the faith of Thye or Ferguson in their belief in the transcendental virtue of the market-place factor. No suspicion of lay testimonials has led them to probe into the history and nature of the testimonials. No attempt has been made to find dissatisfied users or to interrogate experts or competent laboratories who have examined the product: the Committee staff has apparently de-

voted its efforts to finding "friendly" witnesses.

During the hearings, Thye has patiently drawn out the friendly witnesses, helping them to correct their mistakes lest they perjure themselves. He has shown concern when questions that may be damaging are addressed to the witness—for example, when Humphrey was questioning the promoter on his discovery of AD-X2. In sharp contrast was Thye's brevity when one witness, who had apparently been thought friendly, testified that AD-X2 was no good.

Talk on Capitol Hill has it that while removing the "cloud" above the promoter's head, in response to his complaints to the Committee, is one objective of the hearing, the other is to get the Committee off the hook. It is predicted that the final report of the Committee will be a stand-off on any question of merit of AD-X2 or of the promoter's integrity, with much rhetoric on bureaucratic interference with business. The expression "small business" will be given a feature role.

Clues that such conjecture may be well-founded have already appeared. Thye made one speech, for example, pointing out that Blake O'Connor, professional staff member of the Committee, acted last year without Committee sanction, while he and Sparkman (who had been chairman last year) were absent from Washington. In turn O'Connor and others of the staff are fighting for their reputations; it is doubtful that any hearing arranged by them or report drafted by them will be characterized by objectivity. O'Connor has already been shaken with respect to his own veracity in his statement to the Committee that the Bureau had agreed to participate in the M.I.T. tests. Dr. Astin denied this. Dr. Weber of M.I.T. confirmed Astin's testimony.

The Committee adjourned on June 26, subject to the chairman's call. Whether Dr. Laidler (the promoter's paid consultant who was made a consultant to the Committee), O'Connor of the

Committee's staff, the Post Office, the Federal Trade Commission and various experts and laboratories are called remains to be seen. If they are, and if properly questioned, there may be some chance that all the facts and machinations in this hoax will come to light.

Thye's current plans were reported by the *Washington Daily News* on June 27 as follows: "Sen. Edward J. Thye hinted he favors AD-X2's proponents rather than its opponents. He said he has made up his mind about the battery pepper-upper. Though he wouldn't say what he has decided, he did say he 'can't see any justification for the federal government having a flag out against the product'."

SCIENTIST Q

BOSS OF THE ATOM

The President has named Lewis L. Strauss to be Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Strauss has been Eisenhower's personal "adviser on atomic matter" since March 9, so Senate confirmation simply adds a title to power he already enjoyed.

A New York financier—Kuhn, Loeb & Co., from 1916 to 1946—Strauss served on the AEC from its inception in 1946 until 1950 when he became financial adviser and consultant to the five Rockefeller brothers. This impeccable background, a conservative set of mind, ability and tenacity have given Strauss a kind of junior-Baruch standing with Congressional leaders. He could then, if he wished, make the AEC more independent of Congress and the military than it has been.

As to other possible changes under Strauss, his appointment fits into the trend toward giving private business a share in atomic development. His stand on patent policy will indicate whether increased private participation is to be controlled in the public interest. Under Gordon E. Dean, retiring Chairman, there has been some increase in atomic-development co-operation between the US, Britain and Canada. Strauss has consistently fought exchange of information and talent in the past. Will changing conditions have changed his attitude? The question assumes added importance in the context of air-force budget cuts

and reports of increased Russian A-bomb-attack potential.

UNEASY FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

When the new Administration assumed power last January, officials of both the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury Department announced their determination to return to the free money market and let government securities fluctuate accordingly.

Such a policy, it was explained, was essential to tighten up the flow of money and restrict the economy to combat inflation. This would be accomplished by "permitting" the free market to increase interest rates on government securities. A natural consequence would be increase of private interest rates.

The policy was formally inaugurated April 29 when interest rates on a \$1 billion bond issue were increased from 2½ percent to 3¼ percent. Subsequent government issues have followed this pattern. In two months the following trends have resulted:

1. Borrowing has decreased as private businesses and industries have found their cost of borrowing skyrocketing.

2. Corporations, utilities and municipalities are either postponing or abandoning plans to float issues of securities for expansion. It's too costly.

3. Government guaranteed or insured home loans on Federal Housing or Veterans Administration mortgages have declined even though the interest rate has been increased. Mortgage bankers and saving and loan companies had promised that such increases would immediately result in a heavy flow of mortgage money.

4. Present holders of government securities have seen their investments drop to 90 cents on the dollar. Those who need ready cash face possible heavy losses.

New issues of long-term government securities are going begging. Under the free-market concept, therefore, interest rates can be forced higher and higher.

Opposition to the hard-money policy has come not only from Democrats who have traditionally been low-interest advocates, but from large and small businesses, utilities, municipalities and busi-

ness publications. The *New York Journal of Commerce* editorialized, on June 26, 1953: "The Federal Reserve and Treasury spokesmen, who loudly proclaimed their determination to return to a free money market, underestimated the power of their 'open mouth' policy."

For some time the Federal Reserve has shown signs of uneasiness. One indication was the recent purchases of Treasury bills in the open market—acts which ran squarely counter to the earlier pronouncements. Finally, late last week the Reserve ordered a reduction in bank reserve requirements which will make more than \$5 billion available for additional loans and purchases of government securities. Various business groups hailed this as an encouraging step which will halt the interest-rate spiral. Bankers, while supporting the Reserve action, do not entirely share this opinion. Top banking officials, as quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* of June 26, believe that the new Reserve requirements either "will have no material effect on interest rates" or offer "no prospect for any reduction."

There are no signs that the Reserve Board action will basically alter the hard-money program. But when the Reserve Board decides that the time has come to soften hard money it has the power to take the necessary steps.

REWRITING THE RECORD

Those who remember the sensational stories about the McCarthy exposé which appeared on the front pages of newspapers across the country concerning the Voice of America's costly mobile recording unit will be interested in this sequel. With the friendly questioning by Committee Counsel Roy Cohn, Donald Creed testified that the mobile unit cost \$65,000 to build and then required a \$30,000 to \$35,000 "adjustment" to make it work. When the committee hearing was finally printed last week, Murrey Marder of the *Washington Post* discovered that these figures had been changed—without calling the alteration of the transcript to anyone's attention. Instead of \$65,000, the mobile unit actually cost \$41,239.22, and the cost of modifying the unit was not \$30,000 but \$590, for a coat of paint.

This exclusive story was carried on page 4 of the *Washington Post*. We could find no record that any of the three wire services carried a correction, so there is little reason to believe that the general public has been brought up to date. The *Washington Post*, in an editorial, rightly points out:

It is hard enough for truth to catch up with falsehood even in a fair and open race; it is impossible if truth is deliberately tied and tripped on the way. The particular incident here may seem fairly trivial. But it is significantly symptomatic, all the same, of a technique of falsification employed by Joe McCarthy to warp history into the pattern of his own purposes. It is a technique incompatible with democracy—or with any system of self-government.

TROUBLE IN OREGON

PORTLAND, ORE.

President Eisenhower's Administration is in serious political trouble in the Pacific Northwest, mainly over the decision of Secretary of the Interior McKay to abandon federal plans for a great power project in 6,000-foot Hell's Canyon, along the Snake River. The GOP's difficulties, ironically enough, are most evident in the Republican stronghold of Oregon, which has not had a Democratic US Senator since 1914 nor a Democratic legislature since 1878.

When McKay came back home to defend his Hell's Canyon backdown, fewer than 400 people turned out at a widely heralded Republican Party rally in his honor. McKay was on the defensive. He denied that he was deserting the inter-

ests of the region, and he ranted against writers like columnists Drew Pearson and Tom Stokes. Three days later, 740 men and women paid \$10 a plate at a Democratic Party dinner to hear McKay's principal critic, Independent Sen. Wayne Morse, denounce the Administration for frittering away the resources of the Columbia Basin. It was the largest crowd ever drawn to any political banquet in Republican Oregon. Although Morse in previous years had been a foe of most Democratic candidates, he drew a thunderous ovation for his attacks on the government's abandonment of the Hell's Canyon hydroelectric site.

While this was taking place in Portland, the State Grange unanimously adopted resolutions condemning McKay's stewardship in the Interior Department. In view of the fact that McKay only recently was re-elected as Governor of Oregon with overwhelming farm support, this indicated a startling reversal of public opinion in a Western state where General Eisenhower polled more than 60 percent of the total vote in 1952. Elmer McClure, Master of the Grange, attributed the change to the "betrayal" at Hell's Canyon. He prophesied that it would be a burning issue next year.

"THE BEST MEN FOR THE JOB"

The Federal Bureau of Mines was established in 1910. Its purpose: "to promote health, safety, economy, efficiency and conservation in the mineral and related industries." Recurrent mine-disasters underlined the "health and safety" objective.

John J. Forbes, 39 years in the Bureau, has been Director since 1951. But the new broom-swinging Administration decided on a political appointee. Early in March the word got out that Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay's choice for the job was Tom Lyon. His name was sent to the White House. A little research caused the vice-president of the United Mine Workers to send a telegram to President Eisenhower on March 27. His attention was respectfully directed to Lyon's lack of qualification. No acknowledgement was received, so John L. Lewis wrote to Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams. He stressed the danger of a

Bureau chief "ignorant or indifferent in the enforcement of proper standards of safety." He followed up his letter with a one-hour conference, May 18, with McKay and Assistant Secretary of Interior Felix E. Wormser because, as Lewis put it, "I understand Adams intercepts all Eisenhower's mail, but I hope he'll see the newspapers."

In the conference, Lewis urged retention of Forbes. McKay and Wormser were noncommittal. Lyon's appointment was sent to the Senate, and on June 23, he was escorted before the Senate Interior Committee by Wormser who opened the testimony with a stirring endorsement of the nominee. The Senators examined Lyon for several hours and adjourned in dismay.

Questioning by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D, Wash.) revealed that Lyon received a \$5,000 a year pension from the Anaconda Copper Company which could be terminated any time the Company became displeased with him. Then Lyon denounced the 1952 Mine Safety Law.

"I believe . . . in health and safety," said Lyon, but "I don't believe the . . . Law should have been enacted." He would, of course, enforce it, but he objected to its enforcement provisions and would, in the future, recommend against federal inspection. "Police action," he snorted. "Ninety-nine percent of mine accidents are caused by the employee." And, Lyon added, "Life has become very cheap on the globe."

"Mr. Wormser," said Senator Jackson, "Did you know he was drawing a pension?" "No, sir." "Why did you not ask him . . . ? Have you discussed this mine safety thing with him?" "No, sir." "Well, how are you appointing these people?" "He has terrific endorsement . . . from the mining industry," Wormser added. Such "terrific endorsement" that the repeated protests of the mine workers had not even stimulated a mild curiosity as to Mr. Lyon's views.

The Senators asked that the nomination be withdrawn. "The Mine Safety Law is a phony," said Lyon, withdrawing. "I feel Mr. Lyon would have been an excellent appointment," said Secretary of Interior McKay, accepting Mr. Lyon's withdrawal "with regret."

The Charles C. Sherrill Library

Sincere Flattery

"We were told the other day that McCarthy investigator Matusow was a 'psychoceramic.' 'And what is that?' we inquired in alarm. 'Just a crack-pot said our friend airily. — TRB in *Washington Wire*, *New Republic*, June 22, 1953.

"In Washington last week, newsmen coined a new word to describe unreliable sources who peddle tips that are more dramatic than accurate. The word: psychoceramic. Definition: crackpot." — *Time*, June 29, 1953.

"INDEPENDENCE AND BREAD"

A NEW Western European problem, one separate from the problems of Western European unity and its role in the common resistance to Soviet imperialism and world Communism, now faces US policy. This fact seems to have become suddenly and painfully clear to the Eisenhower Administration. Every Western European newspaper with a correspondent in Washington has reported alarm in the White House and State Department about "the general European tendency to balk at American leadership."

Yet the events, though painful, should not have come as a surprise. We (and our predecessor in these columns) have reported the crumbling of "Christian Europe" of the Center-Right. We have consistently suggested, Cassandra-like, the error of assuming that wish-fulfillment appraisals of Western European political trends, supported largely by the acquiescent optimism of pro-US politicians, could be taken as accurately reflecting public opinion or viable political possibility. We have pointed out moreover that the balking was less at US leadership than at the *absence* of a new US leadership which Western Europeans in a new mood would or could accept.

It is a year now since America's (and the West's) most successful, most popular and most respected military leader chose to become a politician. The serious decline in the effectiveness of US leadership started when General Eisenhower went home to campaign. For at the same time his advisors mistakenly decided that what was good enough for their purposes—the interests, criteria and values of the domestic struggle for power—was equally and automatically good for US leadership of the free peoples abroad. Instead, these peoples turned to their own domestic struggles.

The decline became steeper when Eisenhower, after the death of Marshal Stalin, let his statesmanship be deflected from recognition of a new situation in Western Europe for which mere reiteration of old formulas was no answer. In this situation, the pressures were centrifugal not only in Western Europe as a whole but in each country, indeed in each coalition, party and group, with one ominous exception—the Communists.

But if the recent events in Italy, France and West Germany have hurt the chances for the West's unity, those behind the Iron Curtain, notably in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, suggest that the East's totalitarianism is weakening. The London *Observer* comments:

What we are witnessing in Eastern and Western Europe alike is a disintegration of Cold War fronts, both in internal and international politics. The ideological "camps" are on the move, and countries and parties everywhere are straining back toward their accustomed external and internal policies. Whether this will in the end lead to something good or bad depends on the skill with which international statesmanship can adjust itself to the new trend and ride the storm.

On the death of Stalin, Malenkov saw the need to ride the storm. He loosened Moscow's control and at least went

through the motions of treating the satellites more like allies. He geared his world policy to the malleabilities of British diplomacy; and in Western Europe he adjusted his policy to a new situation which, to tell the truth, was already made to order for him by the absence of new US leadership.

For against the new European trend toward "independence and bread," all Eisenhower had to offer was the European Defense Community as a "must" without any alteration or alternative. Against the drive for German unity, there was only rearmament and reinstatement of the Old Guard, Junker if not Nazi. In France and Italy, the Communists held firm and the Socialists gained ground largely because the US seemed to offer concrete hope neither for a Four-Power meeting, nor for social and economic justice; and the far Right gained at the expense of the Center because the US, holding to the old Cold War front, could be accused of making inroads into nationalist pride and prestige.

While the US insisted that Western European unity based on the EDC was the only course, such anti-Communist Europeans as Dag Hammarskjöld of the United Nations could see another—a slower, more organic process similar to the one that created the British Commonwealth. While US experts at the State Department said the curse of France was the excessive party discipline imposed by the bad Constitution of the Fourth Republic, France wallowed in crisis because each of the parties of the Right and Center split up. While the US plumped all-out for Alcide de Gasperi, Pietro Nenni and Achille Lauro became Italy's coming men. And while Konrad Adenauer, the last of the Christian European Big Three to face the new situation, got US support for victory in the forthcoming German election, the Bundestag at Bonn passed, with the unanimous support of the government as well as opposition parties, a five-point resolution shifting the aim of German foreign policy from Western European integration to German reunification.

Malenkov is taking the calculated risk of staking very much on this shift. But his most serious threat to the present lack of US leadership goes beyond the German situation; it affects every country in Western Europe.

There is a growing tendency in Europe to believe that Russia's appeasement in foreign policy is the preface to a Russian new deal by which the Soviets at home will provide more Socialism and less Stalinist dictatorship, and abroad will seek to act as a great power allied with other powers as independent equals.

Marshal Tito has already announced that he intends to re-establish normal diplomatic relations with Russia without changing his attitude toward the West. But will he continue to maintain the balance if Malenkov's Russia becomes Titoist, and if Eisenhower's Washington offers a foreign policy to Europe still influenced in Congressional deeds by men who consider Clement Attlee a Stalinist?

Paris

FRANK GORRELL

The Battle For The Walls

Florence, Italy

by Sidney Alexander

THE ELECTIONS may be over in Italy—the election manifestos remain, reminding visitors if not residents of the brilliance, color, art and bitterness which Italians employ in electing their government. By now, as the posters tear and fray, rare strips on buildings hint to visitors that Florence was built with ochre-colored walls. And yet, as if the street-corner shrines, the milk-blue sky, the rust-tile roofs, the golden sunsets were not enough, the chromaticism of political posters, red, white, green, gold, orange and blue, remain on every available inch of space.

For five weeks Florence, like all Italian cities, was transformed by the stick-up men. First they covered every inch they could reach from the sidewalks. Then, the sidewalk space having been exhausted, the *attachini*, like Manhattan real estate, had no place to go but up. One night I saw a Communist gang armed with ladders. The next night, the other parties followed suit. From then on the usual midnight spectacle in our neighborhood was a group of young men, shouting at the top of their lungs in the stony-echoing streets, tilting long rickety ladders against ancient palaces, then clambering up with paste-pots and posters. At first I gasped at their indifference to life and limb. But when one realizes that the soaring tower of the Palazzo Vecchio was put up before the discovery of the land of steel scaffolding, I ceased to worry about these acrobats on the tipsy ladders and reserved my sorrows for the second-story sleepers suddenly aroused by the chattering of strange voices under their bedroom windows.

In Florence, at least, the battle for the walls was conducted with considerable decorum. I saw some rival gangs shaking their fists at each other; I heard some juicy epithets. But only once did a real fight threaten. This occurred when the Christian Democrats began slapping up, atop every Communist poster, a stripping of bloody red hammers-and-sickles. From the point of each sickle dangled a hanged man. No other comment.

"No! That is not *democrazia*!" the man leaning on the bicycle said. He was at the center of an angry crowd clustered under the windows of the palace where Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote her love sonnets. The man with the bicycle was a Communist, and he was trying to be reasonable. "You can use all the polemic you like. But legitimate propaganda. Not *this* . . . this is not *democrazia*!" Others in the crowd were less reason-

able. They wanted to bash heads.

But two policemen came along, and after the usual Italian ballet of gesturing and expostulation, the rival gangs went back to their walls.

But up in Fiesole, not far from the Roman Amphitheatre, a real gladiatorial combat took place. There were broken bones, there was blood, and a number of the *attachini* wound up in the hospital. This battle was prompted by the action of an irate property owner who ripped off Communist posters from his walls.

The action of the Fiesole property owner in ripping the posters off his walls raises the question: Does a man own the walls of his own house? The law says he does, but common practice says he does not—at least, not during an election campaign. The issue was recently adjudicated at Bologna in the case of a pharmacist who had torn off election posters from his property. The court decided that no propaganda, whether written or painted, may be attached to walls other than those specified by the community . . . "with due consideration for the rights of private property and the esthetic decor of the city."

But this is nothing new, laments *La Nazione* of Firenze, reporting the case; ever since the "postwar" (the realistic Italian substitute for "peace"), election propaganda has been affixed everywhere under the eyes of the police. Regardless of the courts, the rule seems to be that during campaigns, the walls belong to everybody. Here in Florence, only certain streets—the elegant Via Tornabuoni and such art monuments as the Strozzi Palace, the Campanile of Giotto, or the Palazzo Vecchio have been untouched. But one sees Communist posters on the back of traffic signs!

As in all wars, there are accepted rules. The *attachini* may paste over their own slogans but not over those of the opposition. The only variation to this rule seems to be that you may stick a small strip over one or two words, thus converting your enemy's sword into your plowshare. "One vote for the Liberals, one vote for the Republicans, one vote for the Social Democrats equals three votes for the Christian Democrats." So read a Communist manifesto attacking the *truffa*, the electoral law whereby 65 percent of the seats in the Chamber go to the party winning 50.01 percent of the total popular vote.

But the next morning after the midnight gremlins completed their work, the punch line of the Communist poster read: ". . . equals three votes for LIBERTY."

As might be expected, the two biggest parties here—

Sidney Alexander, the author of many short stories and winner of the Maxwell Anderson Award for Dramatic Composition, has published articles in Harper's, Commentary and the Virginia Quarterly Review.

the Christian Democrats and the Communists—did most of the wall-decorating. They seemed to have abundant sources of money: it was impossible to keep up with the flood of their beautifully printed four-color posters that would leave Madison Avenue gasping in admiration for their technical perfection. Every issue in the campaign was touched upon: unemployment, reconstruction, peace, NATO, Korea, the private and public morality of the candidates. The *Democristiani* stood upon their record and labeled the Communists Soviet stooges; the Communists shouted *peace, peace, peace* and drove flaming chariots through the holes of *Democristiani* unfulfillment. Thus, motorists driving along the Arno still pass a huge sign reading: "Fifty yards from here you will NOT find the reconstructed bridge of Alla Grazie promised by de Gasperi in 1948." The "clerical" government, the American "occupation," the Austrian background of the Premier—all these are targets for clever Communist propaganda.

But it would be utterly foreign to the Latin temperament to confine this wall propaganda to barrage and counter-barrage of "facts." Nothing is less congenial to the rhetorical tradition than an Anglo-Saxon "fact." For Italian is a language, remember, so aerated, so rich with vowels, that poets have difficulty *avoiding* rhymes, and in Italy to ask for a glass of water is to sing an aria.

So the factual sober posters—dealing with statistics of rebuilt railway mileage or new housing in Tuscany, are completely overwhelmed by the jibes, the puns, the cartoons, the doggerel, the sarcasms, the lightning darts.

Do the Communists attack the Christian Democratic "fork," symbol of prosperity? "The *forchette* [forks] are lies but the Communist *forche* [gallows] are the truth" ironically reply the de Gasperi forces. "Vote for us, we'll eat for you," remarks a Communist slogan containing a parody of the *Democristiani* symbol: a crossed fork and spoon on a white shield. "Every vote for a Liberal benefits a Clerical" reads another PCI poster.

Here is a photograph of a card-player, just about to play the *legge truffa*. "Block that trick!" warns the Communist manifesto. The card player has no head, the photo having been cropped in slickest American fashion magazine style. "You've left your head in the cell!" comments a *Democristiani* sticker nearby.

On another wall the late generalissimo of the USSR is flying, a black bat-winged angel in a red heaven as he strums on his harp:

*Ai capi communisti
Una parola gaia
Se vincera de Gasperi
Morrete di vecchiaia.*

To the Communist leaders
A gay word from the sage:
If de Gasperi wins
You'll die of old age

Later, Stalin appears again, this time in a green heaven:

Oggi avverto i miei compagni Now I advise my comrades
Che non Fossero informati If they don't know the score:
Che i Missini ed i monarchi Monarchists and fascists
Ora son nostri alleati Are allies in our wars.

On another wall, amidst all the political clamor, is—apparently—a notice for a movie. Luridly illustrated in pancreatic yellows and liverish greens, it seems to advertise a gangster film. There is a thief, handkerchief tied over his nose, sneaking out with the spoils. *L'Ultima Truffa* (The Final Swindle) it's called; directed by one de Gasperi, with various "middle party" actors and the participation of the celebrated ballerina, Romita. On the thief's handkerchief is written DC; the bag is the Majority Prize; across the bottom of the poster: "Forbidden to all honest persons."

If you prefer bombast you will find still on Italy's walls the pronouncement of the Fascist Party, the M.S.I.

Awake! O Italians of the Province of Florence, are you aware that there is something new in the air? Are you aware that the Italian Social Movement has spread its wings? . . . In the Red province the flaming tricolor unfurls, and this tricolor is not stained, impoverished, spineless like that of the Christian Democrats who are neither democratic nor Christian. . . . Look about you, O Italians, the Tricolored Flame is everywhere because the heart of the Fatherland is everywhere. . . . In the city, in the country, in rustic cottages and even where it is not apparent but smolders like a coal beneath the cinders. Everywhere there are youth, veterans, old soldiers. . . .

Etc., etc. for another three paragraphs of *annunci* right and left. The *Missini* pretend to be in the Center, but they fool nobody. Through the rhetoric juts Il Duce's jaw. Across the Ponte Vecchio you see the Christian Democrat poster in reply: Out of the Tricolored Flames a bombed city bathed in a red glow, and over the city a *fascies*: "Remember! They are the same ones who ruined Italy!"

Strolling along between the Joseph's coat of colors on the walls you see yourself in caricature. If you are a member of the Nennisti Socialists, a Christian Democratic poster shows you about to be gobbled up by the red spider; if you favor the Christian Democrats, the Communists have painted your portrait—a gentleman blowing his brains out with a revolver. Captured by these brilliant colors, you pass, without seeing it, a lovely old street shrine that might have been painted by Filippo Lippi. Fascinated by orators, you failed to note that the crowd, anxious for a better view, has climbed over to the marble coils of Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabines*, or used for grandstand seats the limbs of Cellini's *Perseus*. Much later you remember gratefully that in Italy artists retain their commanding place in national affairs.

My Personal Declaration Of Independence

MY DECLARATION of political independence last Fall was a little like being born—not altogether easy and anything but dull.

by Wayne Morse

It marked the beginning of a new political existence for which there is no blueprint and very little precedent.

There have been a few third-party Senators in the past. The Progressives and Farmer-Labor Senators of the 1920s really functioned within the Republican Party. The great George W. Norris was re-elected as an Independent in 1936, with the unprecedented endorsement of Franklin D. Roosevelt. While technically a minority member from 1936 to 1942, Norris' political philosophy made co-operation with the New Deal majority an easy matter. He had never been a Republican Party "regular" at any time. Actually he was more of an insurgent during his years as a Republican than as an Independent.

My course of conduct has not been changed one iota by my resignation from the Republican Party. When I ran for the Senate in 1944 and 1950, I repeatedly told the people of Oregon that they should not vote for me unless they were willing to have me exercise my independent judgment on the merits of issues. It was quite clear that such a course of action was what I intended to follow, if elected, and I wanted to give the voters of Oregon the opportunity to choose or reject me on that basis.

But I have never asked for nor have I wanted a blank check. During each campaign, I have stated my views on issues—and my reasons. Again and again, I have gone to the people of my state and presented the facts and my judgment on the basis of those facts.

A public official has the obligation to help form public opinion—to lead, not to follow. Self-perpetuation in office—the tingle of election victory pales into unimportance. Any individual in politics is expendable—but any advance made in public understanding of vital issues is a legacy for the future.

I have never been a machine Republican or played partisan politics. I have no personal political organization in Oregon, have never attempted to organize one and have no intention of trying to build one. The Republican organization never gave me much help—although individual Republicans in the state worked hard for my election. Some of those individuals were Republican leaders. However, the Republican organization as such was always lukewarm toward me.

In part, my election has been possible because of open

and free primaries in Oregon. My campaigns for the nomination and in the general elections have been a matter of stumping the state—usually alone, without press agents, parades and hoopla. The people of Oregon have given me a fair hearing and have judged my position on issues in accordance with the facts which I have tried to present to them.

It had been my hope up to last Fall that the liberals in the Republican Party would be able with Eisenhower's leadership to counteract the reactionary platform adopted in Chicago. I was shocked by the failure of the Eisenhower group to make a fight on the platform and at no time during the campaign did Eisenhower make a move to disown the platform planks which took the party back to McKinley's times. In fact, it is such a reactionary platform that it makes McKinley look like a flaming liberal.

After the convention and after returning from my disappointing tour of NATO installations in August, I discovered how the Republican "liberals" were folding.

In June, Eisenhower indicated he was against federal anti-discrimination legislation. There were two anti-discrimination bills before the Senate—one introduced by a group of Democrats and myself and the other co-sponsored by a group of Republicans, including me. They were similar in purpose and principle and differed only in minor details. After extensive Labor Committee hearings, the principal sponsors decided to merge the two bills, and to reintroduce the product as a fresh bill. That was in June, after Eisenhower had divulged his position.

Each of the original sponsors was contacted. The bill was reported favorably on July 3, just two days before the end of the 82nd Congress and three days before the Republican Convention opened. Of the 12 original Republicans, five declined to join in sponsoring the combined bill. All but one were key Eisenhower supporters.

This was symptomatic of the fact that political expediency was of greater importance to the so-called Republican liberals in their efforts to obtain the nomination of Eisenhower.

The campaign confirmed that the liberal wing of the Republican Party had wilted, that holding office was more important than principles and the public interest.

The two-party system has worked well in the United States. But, it is plain historical fact that the two parties have not been the same during our 165 years of national existence. The Federalist Party collapsed in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Whigs frayed

Wayne Morse, Independent, is US Senator from Oregon.

and disintegrated in mid-century and the Republican Party was born. There were important third-party movements—notably the Populists in the last part of the century which exercised a liberalizing influence upon the two major parties.

Since 1908—and more clearly after the 1912 Bull Moose movement—there have been strong pressures for a realignment of forces within the Republican and Democratic Parties. While out of power during the 1920s, the Democrats became the more progressive party. While in the political desert during the 30s and 40s, liberal forces within the Republican Party grew.

But since 1938, the dominant factions of both parties have been the conservative wings, which have effectively dominated the Congress for the past 14 years. Liberals were able to protect great social legislation already won only by securing and upholding vetoes of two liberal Democratic presidents, Roosevelt and Truman.

The utility of the two-party system in a democracy is to provide voters with a choice of political and economic philosophy, a set of alternatives from which to select proposed solutions for common problems. By and large, the conservative coalition which dominates both principal parties does not presently provide that necessary element of choice.

Of course, there is a strong liberal wing attached to the Democratic Party—Stevenson, Kefauver, Lehman, Anderson, Hill, Humphrey, Kilgore, Neeley and others—but the Party is not flying on that wing, it is sitting on its haunches.

One need only look at the management of the Democratic Party in the Senate of the United States during this session of Congress to realize that it is completely controlled and dominated by the reactionary wing of the party working in close coalition with the reactionary Republicans. Political expediency and political opportunism characterize the control and leadership of both parties.

Great changes are taking place at the political grass-roots of America. Most of the professional politicians are unaware of it. However, a political realignment is growing in the thinking of the American people and it is the thinking of voters that is all important as a forerunner to a great political change. What it will take to crystallize that thinking into the formation of a new party or realignment is for time to tell. But, I am convinced that sooner or later that crystallization will occur.

Already it is beyond dispute that the average American citizen places his political independence of party above the party label he may wear. The average voter would tell you with pride that, even though he is registered as a Republican or a Democrat, when he goes into the voting

booth, he votes for men and principles irrespective of the party to which each candidate belongs. The old cliché "my party, right or wrong" no longer prevails among voters of the country. The urging of professional politicians to vote the party ticket straight are interpreted by most voters as a public confession that such a political spokesman for a party places political expediency above principle.

One independent fighting alone in the Senate cannot do a great deal toward bringing about a very much needed realignment of political forces in America. But he can symbolize the need. My heavy mail from all parts of the United States, including every state, convinces me that the demand for realignment of political forces is a great and growing one.

Of course, if 20 liberals in American politics holding high position in their parties were willing to sacrifice their political futures, if necessary, in the cause of a needed, more meaningful political regrouping and go "independent" in the 1954 elections, I believe that by 1964 their new party would have become the majority party and would elect its candidate for President. That is how close I think we really are to a groundswell movement of political realignment in America.

However, I also am a realist in American politics and I don't see 20 leaders who are willing to run the risk of personal defeat in the cause of speeding up political history. As a realist, I know that liberalism is dead in the Republican Party. The GOP, under Eisenhower, has become the party of reaction and political expediency. It has become the political graveyard of Lincoln liberalism.

The Democratic Party could, if it would, become the party of constitutional liberalism. But its ultra-conservative leaders in control of the party working hand-in-glove with the Republican reactionaries make the prospects of a liberal program within the Democratic Party look slim and dim. Nevertheless, as of now, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party offers the best hope of furthering sound liberalism, at least until the people at large bring into being a new political realignment. There is always the hope and possibility, if not the probability, that the Democratic Party as a whole will return to the liberalism of Jefferson and thereby bring about the needed political rejuvenation within the existing two-party system. However, until there is clear evidence of such a complete conversion on the part of the Democratic Party to the people's cause, I shall continue as an Independent in American politics to represent the independent voters irrespective of partisan considerations. I feel that in this way I can best challenge the political expediences of both major parties.

Wisconsin: The War Against Eisenhower

IN 1936, when Joseph McCarthy was a New Deal Democratic candidate for district attorney in Shawano County, Wis., a small town banker named Alexander Wiley was the Republican nominee for governor of Wisconsin. Neither candidate was successful that year, but in 1938 Wiley was elected to the United States Senate. Two years later, Wiley was cheered as he told a Wisconsin audience that more people should eat Wisconsin cheese "because if you eat Wisconsin cheese you don't get gas on the brain, and if you don't have gas on the brain, you don't want to go to war."

by Edwin R. Bayley

These views made Wiley the darling of Wisconsin Republicans. But in June, 1953, after Wiley had twice won re-election, the 4,000 delegates to the state Republican convention hissed and booed him. Later they adopted a resolution "censuring" Wiley—because, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, he had stood with their own President in opposing the Bricker amendment.

This uprising at Madison was no spontaneous demonstration. For weeks the delegates had been besieged with literature from the Committee for Constitutional Government, the American Bar Association and other groups favoring the Bricker amendment.

As the convention opened, all county chairmen were greeted with anonymous telegrams, signed "Committee for Constitutional Government," urging the impeachment of Wiley on the basis of the Bricker amendment and because, the telegrams said, the Senator favored opening the doors of the nation to refugees from Iron Curtain countries who wanted to come here to become "leftist voters." The telegrams also declared that Wiley would not seek re-election in 1956 when his present term expires. This idea was circulated by anti-Wiley forces, although the Senator indicated that he plans to run.

Then came a speech by Wayne Hood, state Republican Chairman. Hood mentioned Wiley only once—to say that the support of the state organization had assured his re-election in 1950. With more enthusiasm Hood declared that it was McCarthy's fight against "Reds, pinks and fellow travelers" that had brought Republican victory last year. There was only passing mention of Eisenhower in Hood's talk. It was to McCarthy's banner, not Eisenhower's, that the Wisconsin Republicans were summoned.

Then Wiley spoke, and more than half of the audience booed as he was introduced. Many refused to stand up.

Edwin R. Bayley is a political reporter for the Milwaukee Journal.

Wiley told the delegates bluntly that it was the President's policies they were opposing, and he went on to defend those policies. But the information appeared to have little or no effect on men who a year before were fighting Eisenhower's candidacy in behalf of Taft. Wiley's remarks drew no applause at all and boos greeted him as he ended.

Following an all night planning session a group of county chairmen submitted to the Convention Resolutions Committee a proposal to urge recall proceedings against Wiley. This resolution started an argument that lasted all day. No voice of protest was raised by state leaders. But at the day's end the state organization stepped into the fight and suppressed the resolution on the ground that it would cause unfavorable publicity. It held that a resolution putting the convention on record in favor of the Bricker amendment would do just as well.

The move to censure Wiley was in fact widely supported, mainly by Young Republicans who had campaigned for Taft, for MacArthur and for McCarthy. Wiley contends that this group, with at least the tacit consent of regular party leaders, stampeded the mass of delegates, who knew little of the Bricker amendment issue. But other actions of the convention made it clear that the majority who supported Taft as an isolationist have not changed. There was strong applause, for example, when Representative Lawrence Smith of Racine delivered a straight isolationist speech. It was Smith's Racine County delegation that introduced the resolution criticizing Wiley, and Smith reportedly is interested in succeeding Wiley in the Senate. He referred to Korea as "that bothersome matter," said that "we're going it alone, not by our own choice but upon the choice of our allies." He added that this country's foreign-aid program had shown "no tangible results."

The treatment of McCarthy was in strong contrast to that of Wiley. Each mention of his name brought applause, and delegates listened raptly as he condemned the "Truman-Acheson foreign policy." His esteem was perhaps reflected in the arrangement of pictures behind the platform—those of the President, Vice-President and Governor Kohler on one level, and above all, in a gilt frame, the grim countenance of Wisconsin's Junior Senator.

The delegates went further to oppose Eisenhower's policies. They voted opposition to any amendment of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act (presumably including the President's proposed amendments), stating that such proposals were "premature" and "radical,"

and at almost the same time that Eisenhower was warning of "book burners" at Dartmouth, the Wisconsin Republicans urged continued investigation of "subversive teachers, textbooks and *collateral reading material*."

The delegates concluded by passing two resolutions. The first full of lavish praise for McCarthy; the second a terse, perfunctory commendation of Eisenhower.

The more responsible leaders of the organization became frightened when almost all of the state's newspapers, regardless of editorial inclination, interpreted the action as a slap at the President. Organization leaders disclaimed a part in the affair, and the instigators insisted they had meant to chastise only Wiley. But Wiley belabored the point that they had opposed the President.

Then one of his opponents replied, "Eisenhower represents the whole country, and we have no control over him. But Wiley was elected by Wisconsin Republicans, and he ought to do what we say. We're going to get him." Another added, "Eisenhower ought to learn something from this."

The Madison Convention, the most significant party meeting since November, confirms that there is a large part of the state Republican organization that remains solidly isolationist. At the moment these Republicans are supporting the Bricker amendment. But their real target is the UN and beyond it our inter-allied ties. For them the Bricker amendment is simply an early rendezvous in the march against all of the President's international policies. And while there is not yet overt opposition to President Eisenhower himself, the drive, if successful on the Congressional level in 1954, can be expected to make itself felt in 1956, starting with the Presidential primary in Wisconsin and spreading to the nearby states of Illinois and Indiana.

The objective is control of the Republican Party and it coincides with the plans of many ambitious men, including the Junior Senator. Until now McCarthy has not followed an isolationist line. Perhaps the most important aspect of the Madison incident was that isolationist displeasure with Wiley was directly reflected as heightened enthusiasm for McCarthy and that McCarthy in turn identified himself with this drive.

The relationship between McCarthyism and isolationism is not yet widely recognized. But there is plentiful evidence that they are part of the same movement. Republicans who support the Bricker amendment also support McCarthy. Those who oppose the amendment are critical of McCarthy. In a larger sense McCarthyism and isolationism share what D. W. Brogan calls "The Illusion of American Omnipotence." The idea that the problems of the world can be disposed of in Washing-

ton has no better expression than in McCarthy's effort to prove that Communism is a product of the New Deal rather than of Russia.

As if in recognition of this trend, McCarthy's most recent utterances have been more and more isolationist in character, leaving an impression which McCarthy formerly sought to avoid. His violent exchange with Attlee, climaxed by his threat that this country will "go it alone," carried his supporters in Wisconsin to a new peak of enthusiasm. For in many parts of Wisconsin, a remark favorable to the British will start an argument more quickly than a statement in favor of Russia.

In turn Wiley seems to recognize that in order to fight isolationism he must also tackle the problem of McCarthyism. "We must think sanely," he told the state convention of Amvets, a week after his censure by the Republicans. "Avoid the rabid orators of the extreme right and the extreme left. Don't let them make you hate and fear everybody."

Wiley has surprised observers here, and probably those in Washington, by the belligerence of his counter-attack. The amiable backslapper has turned into a warrior, and instead of looking for a way to crawl back into favor, he has redoubled his efforts to convince the people of Wisconsin that he and Eisenhower are right.

Wiley termed the action of the Republican convention a "cowardly, dastardly stab in the back." He makes it clear at every opportunity that the convention stabbed not only himself but the President and the whole Republican Party. Wiley believes that the day of isolationism is past and that the people voted for Eisenhower rather than the Republican Party. Reportedly he has been encouraged to fight by Secretary Dulles, Attorney General Brownell and men on the White House staff who recognize the threat. But supported or not, Wiley's spirit has amazed Wisconsin party leaders. One, who tried to make peace complained, "Why, I think he is happy about the whole thing!"

Wiley's stubbornness indicates he thinks he can win this fight even against the powerful state organization. Without doubt, it is of great significance as the first open fight between an Administration supporter and the Republican opposition. If Wiley can win, in the most isolationist state of the country, McCarthy's support may diminish. And early indications are that Wiley may win. Initial newspaper reaction has been favorable, and hundreds of letters from constituents assure Wiley of support and urge him to keep fighting. It may be that the Wisconsin isolationists are a "small but vocal group," as Wiley claims. If so, the cause of responsible internationalism may find itself in debt to the man who once equated it with "gas on the brain."

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE PAINTINGS PRESERVED BY VESUVIUS

by Kenneth Clark

SEVERAL FACTORS have combined to make this one of the most attractive volumes so far published by Monsieur Skira. The contents are relatively unfamiliar, in some cases unpublished, and antique frescoes with their mat surfaces and strong local colors suit Monsieur Skira's methods of reproduction better than the varnished impasto of the seventeenth century. Even the most resolute

ROMAN PAINTING, by Amedeo Maiuri (Skira; \$15).

adversaries of the "color book" must admit that, in this instance, black and white plates would have been useless, because it is almost entirely through their color that these late survivors of Greek art recall the great works of painting from which they derive.

This fact still surprises us, yet already in the middle of the nineteenth century we had been warned that the concept of a pure white marble world which had satisfied Winckelmann and his contemporaries was proved false by every literary reference and fresh archaeological discovery. But we could not bring ourselves to believe it. For the white statues, divested of their paint, had become so familiar a part of our store of visual images that we simply put the thought of their color out of our minds. Moreover, the coloristic character of Greek art carried with it the unwelcome corollary that in antiquity sculpture had been less highly valued than painting; and of this frustrating fact, too, there is overwhelming evidence, beginning with Aristotle's *Poetics* which mentions painting and painters many times, but never a sculptor. What can we do to recover this lost kingdom of aesthetic delight? In the eighteenth century men supposed that something could be done by describing the subjects of ancient painting, a procedure so unrewarding that for over a hundred years the subject was dropped; and during this time the only concrete evidence appeared. It was provided by the murals and mosaics which had been miraculously preserved in Pompeii, Herculaneum or Stabiae, by the eruption of Vesuvius. They began to be excavated in 1748; the finest examples were discovered in 1900 and 1909 and, as this book shows, beautiful fragments are being discovered still. They have continued to be relatively little known, partly because they are all concentrated in one place (the room from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan is the only important piece to have escaped), and partly because they depended for their effectiveness on their color. This is obviously true of the architectural decorations, but it also applies to the figure pieces, where the form is often coarse and clumsy, but the color vivid and luminous. In the hands of unskilled workmen, a tradition of form, which depends on intellectual grasp, is easily lost; whereas a tradition of color, which depends partly on workshop practice and partly on instinct, can be maintained, with only a slight diminution of refinement.

The almost total isolation of the paintings preserved by Vesuvius makes them difficult to interpret historically. We have practically no comparable material in antique painting (about a dozen in Rome), and our surviving mosaics, although numerous and widely dispersed, are for the most part artisan work following traditional patterns. We cannot, therefore, neglect the analogy of sculpture, in which field a far greater number of survivors has allowed us to move with rather more certainty. The dominant impression which we derive from Hellenistic and Imperial sculpture is that after the middle of the second century artistic invention was almost completely exhausted. A few works seem to have achieved independent existence — the Venus of Milo and (perhaps) the Laocoon; but in general every outstanding piece represented a rearrangement, if not an actual copy, of a type created anything from fifty to four hundred years earlier.

Now if we apply this analogy to antique painting, we will deduce that all of the styles and many of the motives discoverable in the Pompeian frescoes

were not the product of a native Campanian school, but were reflections of earlier Greek art, varying according to the skill of the craftsmen (most of whom were probably Greeks from Antioch or Alexandria) and the taste of the patrons. The bronzes from Herculaneum show us that certain collectors had a taste for Attic archaism; others preferred the more sprightly trivialities of Hellenism. In painting taste does not seem to have ranged quite so far; still, the variety of style is considerable. On the one hand there is the purely archaic style, imitating the delicate linear technique of the fifth century, as we know it in white figure *lekkythoi*. Of this the Knuckle Bone Players is a pleasing example, reminding us of Burne Jones's derivations from the *quattrocento*. At the other end of the scale are entirely coloristic works, such as the head of a woman which is like a pastel by Albert Besnard. In between lay two noble traditions of mural painting, the first with strong local colors and solidly modelled figures, the second more atmospheric and lighter in tone. There was also the scribbly graphic manner, reminding us of Beccafumi, Guardi or Gavarni, which is much admired, although it may have been little more than a decorator's formula.

Of all these only one has come down to us in examples which must give a more or less adequate idea of original: the monumental decorative style which we know from the Villa of the Mysteries and the Villa of Boscoreale. The cycle of frescoes in the Villa of the Mysteries is, indeed, by far the finest survivor of antique painting, and the only one which can be compared with the great cycles of sculpture. In spite of a somewhat insensitive execution, it is arguable that these are an original creation. Signorelli's frescoes at Orvieto are equally mechanical in the actual brushwork, and the rhythm of these scenes of initiation is so perfectly adapted to the room which they adorn that it is hard to see how they could be a replica of another model. On the other hand we can be fairly certain that the style, and perhaps even individual groups derive from the work of some great painter of an earlier age; for

other frescoes at Pompeii, probably painted at the same date, are in a style which (if the laws of stylistic development have any consistency) must be separated from that of the Mysteries by at least a century.

In our own art the progression from linear to formal, formal to coloristic, and finally to the complete luminarism of the 1870s has been a slow process. In antique painting it must have taken place more rapidly; but even so the "impressionist" palette, with its transparent blue shadows, which is the first thing to strike us in Pompeian art, can hardly be much earlier than the second century. Like Impressionism it may have originated as a means of coming closer to the visual sensation, and as such it is used in the finest "still life" pictures of antiquity. But the surprising thing is that it became so much the current style that it was applied to every type of subject. Antiquity never found itself committed, as post-Renaissance art nearly did, to the divergence between a "black style" which should instruct the mind and a "blonde style" to please the eye. In consequence it was possible for compositions as grave and concentrated as the Sacraments of Poussin to be painted in the tonality of Renoir. Of this we can judge, alas, only from rather feeble replicas, such as those in the triclinium of the Imperial Villa at Pompeii, which are obviously the work of mere artisans, and yet retain the rudiments of greatness in their color and composition. The original designs must have had some of the classic finality of Andrea del Sarto's frescoes in the Chiosstro dello Scalzo.

This fresh luminous style was ideally suited to decoration. Artisan decorators of all ages have evolved a spontaneous graphic language to help them cover the wall in reasonable time, but this may be more or less comfortably related to the main pictorial productions of the epoch. In antiquity we have the impression that this relationship was enviably direct. And, of course, the artisans added something of their own. The author of this book, Dr. Amedeo Maiuri, would make them the determining factor, and in consequence has laid particular stress on those works which contain animated figures, scenes of popular life and so forth: a misfortune, for these are not the important and characteristic part of antique painting, and could be paralleled in the background of any Italian decorative

frescoes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dr. Maiuri, with that blinding patriotism which archaeologists feel for very remote epochs in their country's history, would also claim that the invention and execution of most of the paintings reproduced in this book were due to Italian (Campanian) artists: an opinion, as the reader will perceive, completely opposed to my own. The most I could allow would be an analogy with mural decoration in England in the eighteenth century, where a somewhat similar social and economic position led to the importation of a crowd of Italian decorators—Verrio, Pellegrini, Bellucci, and the Riccis—among whom the work of a few English painters is distinguishable only by inferior skill. Perhaps I should grant Dr. Maiuri the possibility of a Campanian Thornhill; but the thesis

that Italic artists developed a "popular" style which is somehow linked with Christian art is misleading. The likeness between them is due solely to incompetence, for the poor communities which took refuge in the Catacombs could afford only the type of artisan who had done the most hasty and insignificant work at Pompeii.

The majority of those who purchase this book, however, will enjoy the brilliant and beautiful color plates without bothering too much about the art-historical problems they present. We may grieve over the destruction of the masterpieces of antique painting, and but be grateful that at last a few of the surviving witnesses are able to speak to us so directly.

Kenneth Clark, formerly director of the National Gallery, is chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain. His newest book—*The Nude in Art*—will be published next season.

THE REAL AND DISTINGUISHED PUZZLE

by Mark Schorer

ONE DAY in 1894 Henry James recorded in his notebook "2 little ideas" suggested to him at a party the night before by Stopford Brooke. The second went as follows:

The notion of the young man who marries an older woman and who has the effect on her of making her younger and still younger, while he himself becomes her age. When he reaches the age that *she* was (on their marriage), she has gone back to the age that *he* was.—Mightn't this be altered (perhaps) to the idea of cleverness and stupidity? A clever woman marries a deadly dull man, and loses and loses her wit as he shows more and more.

It was a nice "little idea," and it was the beginning of *The Sacred Fount*.

THE SACRED FOUNT, by Henry James, introduction by Leon Edel (Grove; \$4).

Five years later James was still reminding himself of it: "Don't lose sight of the little *conceit* of the note in former vol. that begins"—et cetera.

I see 2 couples. One is married—this is the *old-young* pair. I watch *their* process, and it gives me light for the spectacle of the other (covert, obscure, unavowed) pair who are *not* married.

He began it at last as a short story, but when it had grown to 20 thousand words

and he saw that it was no longer in the least short, he spun out 60 thousand words more and had himself a novel.

It was published in 1901 and from the beginning has been an enigma with a curious history in criticism. Mr. Leon Edel, who has written the competent and highly suggestive introduction to the present reprint, sketches in this history: how James himself spoke rather lightly of the book ("profitless labyrinth," "fantastic and insubstantial," "a small fantasticality," "a consistent joke," but with "its own little law of composition"); how Howells asserted that he knew what it was about but died without telling the world; how it has teased and exasperated nearly all critics since, even the most sympathetic of whom (Edmund Wilson and R. P. Blackmur) have not quite been able to tell us what it is really about.

Mr. Edel believes that it is about "appearance and reality," and in his exposition of this theme, he makes the novel sound a little like Ford's *Good Soldier*, which is a more interesting novel. "I see 2 couples . . . I watch . . ." James meditated, and Mr. Edel quite properly begins with an examination of that "I," who, in his attempt to discover the hidden relationships which was the initial idea of the story, builds what he thinks to be a "palace of thought" only to dis-

cover it to be a "house of cards." And what happens to the novel is that James wishes finally to command our attention by *this* situation—the appearances that the narrator mistakes as real—rather than by the initial situation of the two couples themselves, who carry whatever the reality may be. We are led restlessly and relentlessly through the endlessly labyrinthine inferences of an "obsessedly curious" and finally mistaken observer, who is at last denounced as "crazy" (which any alienist, no less than Mrs. Brissenden, would find him), and are all the time led away from the fascinating idea that gives the novel its title. For this narrator has never been near the sacred fount, he confesses to the paucity of his experience, and it is as if he must fill the gap with a fantasy spun out of the experience that others are having but that he is not in a position to read. Thus what Mr. Edel refers to as the "vampire theme" embodied in the two couples gives way to a different kind of "vampire theme" in the false and feverish speculations of the narrator, sucking their bloodless life from the living. The novel's "little law of composition" (the strictly maintained point of view) fatally becomes the novel itself.

One recalls James's impatience with Flaubert for permitting himself to "choose, as special conduits of the life he proposed to depict, such inferior and in the case of Frédéric such abject human specimens," and further, that the principle of the *fine* observing consciousness seemed so basic that he could say of Flaubert that "if he imagined nothing better for his purpose than . . . such limited reflectors and registers, we are forced to believe it to have been by a defeat of his mind." *A defeat of his mind!* Might the charge not fairly be turned against James himself in this work? Surely an appeal to his successful efforts in this kind (of the gross or deranged observing consciousness) does not make *The Sacred Fount* more successful, much as such an appeal may serve to clarify its flaw. If, for example, one reads *The Turn of the Screw* in the famous Wilson interpretation, as Mr. Edel does, the fact still remains that the obsessive speculations of the governess have consequences: they create a drastic, even a tragic drama. But the speculations of the anonymous narrator in *The Sacred Fount* have no consequences, they are only the irrelevancies of whatever the

central drama may be, and that goes on in its own course without alteration, as if the narrator did not exist at all. Only we do not know what its course is.

It seems unlikely that *The Sacred Fount* can be given "its honored little place on the Jamesian shelf" on its merits alone. Yet for every reader who enjoys James's novels (and perhaps even more, his criticism), it is an essential work. For it shows us where a critical principle went wrong. And it shows us where, immediately after, that same critical principle went triumphantly right. Mr. Edel reminds us that from *The Sacred Fount*, James went on to *The Ambassadors*.

This novel, as a matter of fact [Mr. Edel writes], has in it an interesting carry-over from *The Sacred Fount*—for what is Lambert Strether doing but once more being the sensitive observer seeking to fathom a relationship, that between Madame de Vionnet and Chad? Madame de Vionnet is again a May Server, at whose sacred fount Chad has acquired poise and a measure of polish. It is she who is left depleted at the end.

But Lambert Strether is neither silly nor tiresome, let alone nameless and socially disembodied. Of him, James wrote:

My subject may be most simply described, then, as the picture of a certain momentous and interesting period, of some six months or so, in the history of a man no longer in the prime of life, yet still able to live with sufficient intensity to be a source of what may be called excitement to himself, not less than to the reader of his record.

Exactly. For intensity may be as different from fruitless obsession as vision is different from delusion.

MARK SCHORER

VIRGINIAN GENTLEMEN

EDMUND PENDLETON, 1721-1803, by David John Mays (Harvard; two volumes, \$15).

THIS prize-winning biography of Edmund Pendleton of Virginia by David John Mays, also of Virginia, seems to descend to us from the age of the giants. It runs to two volumes, 858 pages, and thirty-eight chapters. The notes occupy almost a hundred pages, there are six appendices, there are maps and illustrations. It takes the author three pages merely to list the persons who have helped him. The bibliography runs to

twenty pages, and includes 125 law cases in which Pendleton was involved. The index takes up twenty-nine pages and fifty-seven columns. It refers to forty-one Pendletons by name, and to five other Pendleton items. The entries under "Edmund Pendleton" runs to nine columns. This is not summer-time reading!

The analogue which occurs to me is Masson's redoubtable book on Milton which, purporting to be a biography of the poet, is a history of England *à propos* of the creator of *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Mays has written the definitive biography of Edmund Pendleton, lawyer, planter, statesman, and judge, but he has also written a history of Virginia in the eighteenth century, at least as this history was that of the governing class.

Edmund Pendleton is a great name in Virginia; and it is paradoxically a mark of provincialism in the other forty-seven states that most Americans know nothing about him. It may help to identify him to say that he lived all his life in Caroline County, a part of the world which draws from Mr. Mays some eloquent pages, and that one John Taylor, later known as "John Taylor of Caroline" became his ward—that John Taylor whom Parrington characterized as "the most original economist of his generation." Parrington ignored Edmund Pendleton, largely, I think, because, until this work appeared, people knew little enough about him, but Taylor carried on the Pendleton philosophy.

Pendleton, however, was a great man in his own right, a natural leader, the equivalent of a modern corporation lawyer, the ruler of Virginia between the dwindling of the royal government and the adoption of the Revolutionary constitution. He was long a judge, a great judge, "presiding over an experienced court, and aided by the foremost bar in America," says Mr. Mays; the rival of the famous George Wythe, whose decisions in chancery he frequently reversed on appeal. But perhaps his greatest claim to renown is that, presiding over the convention for the adoption of the Federal Constitution by Virginia and in the teeth of opposition by Patrick Henry and George Mason, Pendleton (with Madison) got the thing done, so that "against their will, the people of Virginia had been brought into the new Federal Union."

So much for the public man and statesman. In his more private capacity

Pendleton was a typical planter in a period when the plantation system was going bankrupt in the Old Dominion. This system Pendleton (and John Taylor after him) struggled to save. A long, long chapter is devoted to the "Robinson Affair" and to Pendleton's connection with it. John Robinson, treasurer of the colony, freely lent colony money to planter friends, so that, when he died and Pendleton came to administer his estate, he found not only evidences of grave misconduct in the treasurer, but equally remarkable selfishness among the planters, many of whom, having "knowingly obtained Treasury money, yet shamelessly sought in every way to avoid restitution." In fact, members of the ruling class owed Robinson's estate more than £130,000 above the £100,000 Robinson had taken from the treasury for their benefit.

Mr. Mays writes that the "revolution in Virginia, unlike that in some of the other colonies, was in the hands of the Colony's first citizens." This is true, but perhaps Mr. Mays does not quite see the implication of the fact. Admirably, he conceals nothing, but if any single impression lingers from his crowded pages, it is that Virginia was in the hands of a closed corporation of gentry. There were common folks on the Western frontier, and common folks existed to suffer dysentery and smallpox, and to struggle along without salt to preserve fish or meat, and without hard cash to buy what they needed. They also served in the armed forces of the Commonwealth, which were often "unclothed, unfed, and unpaid," partly because "the Burgesses were perfectly frank in their unwillingness to draft anyone who had a vote." But it is the bankruptcy of the planters and the threat to the family dynasties that matter. One John Baylor, a neighbor of Pendleton's, had £3,000 due him in the colony, but could not collect. He wrote: "Poor Virga, what art thou come to sued & held in Derision by the Merch'ts of Great Britain."

This candid study throws most of its light on the economic setting of the American Revolution in Virginia, in terms of the ruling class. That class was a hard-working class—Pendleton's life is a sort of Horatio Alger story—but it was a class with a very good sense of its own importance in the Commonwealth, and this Mr. Mays perfectly makes clear. HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

FRUSTRATIONS OF LOVE

CHERI, and THE LAST OF CHERI, by Colette (Farrar, Straus and Young; \$3.50).

COLETTE is one of the glories of France, and *Cheri* is her masterpiece, as fresh today as when it was first published 30 years ago. For 30 years her magic touch has been lost in the pedestrian phrases of English translators. Now, happily, Roger Senhouse's almost perfect translation is available to American readers.

Colette's preoccupation is of course with women, and she despises all of them but one. Her pen records the selfish schemes that possess their narrow minds with the precision of a Geiger Counter following a radioactive tracer through the stomach and into the blood stream.

All but one—Lea, a splendid courtesan—is set apart from other women by Colette because she is honest and proud of her sensuality. "Naked if need be, squalid never" is her guiding principle, and Colette notes with enthusiasm that "never once had her lovers caught her untidily dressed or in her bedroom slippers during the day." Yet she is governed by the customary objectives: never to risk the humiliations of love; never to depend too much on any man; to seek and find contentment rather than happiness, and above all to conceal and delay advancing age.

In an act of casual kindness Lea takes on Cheri, the indolent son of an unknown father and a business-minded *cocotte*. Lea is 43, Cheri is 19, and she remembers him as a little boy "a marvel of beauty with long curls." She takes him to the country, fattens him, and imports a boxer to build him up. Watching him sparring she wonders idly "Where in the devil did Madame Peloux drop her line to fish up a child like that?"

But Cheri is inscrutable as well as charming. And for reasons Lea cannot fathom, their relationship moves beyond the acceptable limits of a controlled emotion. With this change, the twenty-four years that separate them becomes ungovernable. Beside this problem the detail of Cheri's forced marriage of convenience to a cold and boring girl is of peripheral significance. Lea, on learning of the engagement, remarks simply, "It's lucky for me that there'll soon be someone else to stop you smoking on an empty

stomach." And Cheri replies "Oh, *she* won't be allowed to have a say in anything! She's going to be my *wife* isn't she? Let her kiss the sacred ground I walk on, and thank her lucky stars for the privilege. And that will be that!"

The marriage means nothing, and of course Cheri returns. Lea accepts him "like a good mistress, with devout solicitude." But by now she is 50. Feigning sleep, he notes with distaste that the morning light falls on a raddled neck. Crushed but outwardly serene, (for the truth must never be spoken) she turns him out. For she has seen, in an elderly harpy a caricature of what the future offers for Cheri and herself. The harpy, well into her seventies and "corpulent as a eunuch held in by stays" appears, dragging along her adolescent "passion." And no detail is lost on Lea or Colette:

A striking blue and white striped skirt held in the lower part of her body and a little blue jersey gaped over her skinny bosom, crinkled like the wattles of a turkey cock. A silver fox failed to conceal the neck which was the shape of a flower pot and the size of a belly . . . and had engulfed the chin. . . . A white sailor hat perched on the back of a short-cut strawberry roan wig; a pearl necklace was visible one moment and the next interned in a deep ravine. . . . She walked with difficulty on swollen feet, tightly swaddled in high heeled boots with paste buckles on the ankle strap and was the first to congratulate herself on this performance.

Rather than risk this future, Lea chooses to be alone. She is almost 60 when Cheri searches her out for the last time, "ready for dinner . . . for the cinema, for bridge, for a walk in the Bois. . . ." Bitterly, Cheri reflects "This old woman is hiding from me. . . . she's bored by me and she's waiting for me to go; thinking it all an infernal nuisance, these crowding memories and this returning ghost. But if by any chance I beg her to give me back Lea. . . ." Shaken, he manages his exit gracefully "kissing a puffy hand, bulging with rings when it was raised to his lips."

So Lea sails into her old age armed with memories. An American novelist might insist that she pay the price of her transgression—but not Colette. It is Cheri who pays. Self-interred, in gloomy lodgings he spends his last hours listening to an aged "missionary of vice" whom he employs to describe, over and over, Lea as she was. There surrounded

by photographs of Lea in her prime, and "whimpering muffled complaints" he shoots himself.

It is a shameless, sentimental story, and yet as true for France as Ford Maddox Ford's account of the relationship of Christopher Tietjens and Valentine Wannop was true for the course of love in England. In fact, *Cheri* and *Parade's End* offer a fascinating contrast. They were written at the same time; they deal with the same period; they see in it the same barren landscape of national amorality; they record the same frustrations of love. Yet they are poles apart. Ford's vision is telescopic; Colette's microscopic; he brings to a commanding perspective his English compassion; she to a dissection of detail, her tart French tongue and wit. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

ASTONISHING SAINT

TERESA OF AVILA, by Marcelle Auclair (Pantheon; \$4.95).

TERESA DE JESUS, a Carmelite nun of the sixteenth century, has been called by the Popes "A Mystical Doctor" of the Roman Catholic Church, a unique description which ranks her, alone among women, with such figures as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas in Catholic hagiology. Like that of her contemporary and friend, St. John of the Cross, her remarkable personality has attracted great interest outside the Faith, and her writings, like his, are admired as classics of Spanish style.

Certainly she is one of the most astonishing women who ever lived, this laughing and relentless Martha-Mary, who ripped out and re-wove the entire fabric of her ancient Order's life in Spain, and who founded nearly a score of convents and monasteries of austere Discalced Carmelite religious. She administered the whole realm with a steely will and a beady, if humorous, eye for detail, and yet was one of the greatest of contemplative mystics and mystical theologians.

Hagiographers have been at her for three centuries, and surely none more exhaustively than Marcelle Auclair, the Frenchwoman who has written this newest and most fully researched biography. Mme. Auclair has read everything to be found on her subject; she retraveled St. Teresa's route from foundation to foundation, and lived with the nuns of her Rule (actually the Primitive Rule of Car-

mel), all over Spain. She did meticulous background work on the people—family, kings and nobles, nuns, priests, inquisitors, known heretofore chiefly as names—with whom the saint lived and dealt in her day; she makes every effort to bring these again to life and to reconstruct in detail the Spanish life of the times.

But she wrote her book in a style best suited to *Marie-Claire*, the popular French woman's magazine which she founded and edited. This impression is not to be accounted for by the translation; it must have been a frilly French to be rendered in such consistently twittering English. The faith of the reader is presupposed. The result therefore is a work which unfortunately would seem to be confined to an audience of the faithful, or even to that portion of the faithful who have a taste for glamorization and simplification in the recounting of the lives of the saints.

Far more striking—and intelligible—to others may be the *Autobiography* of Teresa herself, her luminous *The Interior Castle*, and *The Way of Perfection*. S. M. FITZGERALD

ASTONISHING TRYANT

MALENKOV, by Martin Ebon (McGraw-Hill; \$3.75).

EVERYONE, of course, wants to know what kind of a man Malenkov is. Martin Ebon's *Malenkov: Stalin's Successor* attempts to give an answer and while it does this without overwhelming success, it does present enough facts to be worth reading in view of the scarcity of authentic material available anywhere else. What information Mr. Ebon has he uses with considerable skill. There are many "probably's" and "presumably's" and a few flat statements that could be anyone's guesses, but the author is generally careful not to over-stretch his own knowledge or the credulity of the reader.

Malenkov, according to Mr. Ebon is essentially a crafty, bureaucratic, political schemer who wormed his way into power rather than bullied his way there. He is a new generation Communist rather than an "Old Bolshevik" and his speeches reflect "a shift in emphasis and approach" sounding a "new note of concrete challenge, an aggressive and plainspoken tone that seems to echo the new Soviet leader's impatient nature."

Mr. Ebon points out that Malenkov has no personal knowledge of the Western world as did many of the Old Bolsheviks who once lived in exile and that he has carefully isolated himself from contact with foreigners.

This ignorance [Mr. Ebon feels] is a danger to Malenkov. It is also a danger to the Soviet Union and to the world. We cannot assume that Georgi Malenkov has the insight to sit back and sort out the facts from the loaded verbiage and twisted reports supplied by his own information and propaganda machinery.

Malenkov, as painted by the author, is strictly an "apparatus" man, has little use for "theorising oldtimers," believes in "peaceful co-existence" with the capitalist world if the United States abandons what the Russians declare are its "terrorist" and "imperialist" policies, believes in the necessity for the growth of Communism throughout the world, and is strong for more industrial and agricultural production in the Soviet Union through greater efficiency, labor "enthusiasm" and modern techniques.

Malenkov's chief interests for many years have been in the fields of Soviet industrial production and organization of the Communist Party. "In these fields," Mr. Ebon writes, "Malenkov appears as a bureaucrat who despises bureaucracy, a party disciplinarian who seldom discusses ideology and an efficiency expert who was almost a faddist about the subject of modern techniques." Indeed, one gets the curious impression that Malenkov is about to give the Soviet Union a "businessman's" regime, Communist style, at just the time that the United States is getting a businessman's administration, capitalist style.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is devoted to the texts of the more important Malenkov speeches. These give the reader an opportunity to weigh Malenkov's thought processes at first hand and to make up his own mind as to what Malenkov stands for. The speeches deal with Malenkov's concept of the state of society in the United States—unemployment, poverty and despair as capitalist warmongers crush the people—and more importantly his ideas of how Soviet agriculture and industry should be managed.

Whether Malenkov means war or peace, Mr. Ebon doesn't pretend to know, but he does point out that "no

peace offensive can change the Soviet regime's intent to achieve world-wide supremacy." He therefore warns us against accepting Soviet peace overtures too readily.

The book has a fair share of "cloak and dagger" material and some speculation on the habit of Soviet officials dying at convenient times for their rivals. But, on the whole, Mr. Ebon deals with such matter with restraint. What emerges is a reasonably thoughtful appraisal of the new Russian leader, based on such skimpy evidence as is now available.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

THE WAR AT SEA

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL OPERATIONS IN WORLD WAR II, *Volume VIII, New Guinea and the Marianas*, by Samuel Eliot Morison (Little, Brown; \$6).

IF GENERAL MACARTHUR had been given a free rein in the running of the war against Japan in early 1944, the price of victory might have been considerably higher. It most certainly would have taken immeasurably longer to crack the backbone of Tojo's armies and

march into Imperial Tokyo. MacArthur's plan, as Admiral Morison points out, was to strike along the New Guinea coast, thence into the Celebes and the Sulu Sea. There, joined by the British and with Admiral Nimitz's naval forces presumably under his command, he would begin the long northward push to Tokyo via the Philippines, Hong Kong and Formosa. Fortunately, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided upon another plan, based upon the Navy's contention that it would by-pass the Carolines, seize bases in the Marianas, and begin much sooner to mount the crippling air blows—and incidentally the atom raid on Hiroshima—which resulted in Japan's military collapse.

The eighth volume of Admiral Morison's monumental history is a lucid and detailed account of the campaigns which carried MacArthur's armies to the Vogelkop or bird's head western tip of New Guinea, and which saw the Navy push through the middle to seize Guam and Saipan. From the Navy's standpoint, the combined effort was a dramatic and exciting series of invasions and sea actions.

MacArthur's skip through Hollandia, Biak, Noemfoor and Sansapor was largely a military exercise which generally bored even the newsmen who covered the operations. The Navy's operation, on the other hand, was far more dangerous and evoked from the enemy the greatest counter-action. For as the author points out, the Japanese had long since concluded that if the American offensive were to be stopped, it must be stopped at the point where U.S. forces invaded the Philippine Sea. And the Marianas, of course, stand at the eastern entrance of that body of water. Admiral Morison goes into great detail, including authoritative maps and charts, in his description of the epic Battle of the Philippines Sea—the greatest carrier contest in military history. He describes the submarine warfare which preceded the great clash. And he analyzes expertly the various decisions which were made, not only on the U.S. side, but also, with the benefit of Japanese documents, on the side of the Japanese commander, Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa. It may well be that this naval encounter, together with its later counterpart in the Battle for Leyte Gulf, constitute the last surface-air clashes of modern warfare.

The presumed character of possible

coming wars seem much more likely to be largely air-land clashes. And besides, the most often considered potential enemy does not possess a fleet comparable to that of the Japanese. But there is value in a thorough recapitulation such as Admiral Morison provides in this and the other volumes of his book. A layman gets a clearer view of the personalities involved in war and how they can influence decisions. And he learns too of the basic requirements which face any nation when it is at close grips with an enemy. The author therefore performs a dual service; he gives to the reading public an accurate and absorbing inside view of the Pacific War, and he contributes to the military education of public opinion which, as the war in Korea has shown, has now become such a vital factor.

GORDON WALKER

A RENAISSANCE LEADER

WINSTON CHURCHILL, *The Era and the Man*, by Virginia Cowles (Harper; \$5).

IT IS, I suppose, probable that as many biographies of Winston Churchill will be written or attempted in the next fifty years as were written about Napoleon in the second half of the last century. The two men dominate their own segment of history, and their lives have an equal fascination for readers and writers alike. To be one of the first, to attempt a definitive biography of so herculean and pugnacious a figure as Mr. Churchill when he is still alive, to publish it at the moment when he is still exercising the most decisive influence of his whole long lifetime on international affairs, is a bold venture.

Miss Cowles, who by her wartime writing and her earlier books has shown that she is a first-class journalist and observer of the English scene, has been remarkably successful. She has written a biography in the true sense, not merely a personal history written backwards, as is so often the case, judging the boy in terms of the man. She has not been overwhelmed by the post-Dunkirk Churchill, nor has she given his role in the past thirteen years undue prominence at the expense of the previous sixty-five. In fact the most illuminating part of the book is perhaps the first half, which covers his life up to the downfall of his first political reputation following the disaster of the Dardanelles expedition in

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1915. Miss Cowles makes an occasional minor error of fact about British politics, but prodigious and careful research has gone into the book. One of its faults is that it is a little too carefully written, a little too much of the political grammar, a little lacking in *nuance* and subtlety. And curiously enough—curious that is for the wife of a Labour Member of Parliament—Miss Cowles' assessment of Churchill is rather too generous; while she acknowledges the inconsistencies, the mischievousness, the frailties of Winston Churchill, she has minimized the many instances of hasty judgment, lazy thinking, and vindictiveness which have at different times diminished his stature. However it is difficult to quarrel with her final judgment:

It is not only as a statesman that he must be judged. No one can meet this extraordinary man without a feeling of awe. He not only stands head and shoulders above a century of powerful statesmen but his mastery of the English language, his contribution to literature, his scientific inventiveness . . . his painting, his far flung interests . . . even his astonishing constitution . . . [and] the range of his talents forces one to compare him with Leonardo da Vinci. . . .

ALASTAIR BUCHAN

AN ECONOMIC ADVISER

ECONOMICS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE, by Edwin G. Nourse (Harcourt, Brace; \$6).

IS THERE AN ECONOMIC science capable of organizing its data so as to most productively direct the basic economic determinants in our society? Dr. Edwin G. Nourse believes there is. A system including such direction could probably be best described as "assisted *laissez-faire*," or the complementary working of public and private policy. To achieve it, economic science must be brought fully into the public service, says Dr. Nourse, and he believes the Employment Act of 1946 does exactly that.

The central objective of the Employment Act is to shape national policy so as to attain economic stabilization. To that end it provided for a Council of Economic Advisers to the President, a Joint Economic Committee in the Congress, and an annual Economic Report from the President to the Congress.

Dr. Nourse was the Council's first

chairman, from 1946 to 1949. During those years he tried to keep the Council's work "pure"—apolitical—and to have its findings consulted seriously by the President and his Cabinet officers *before* policy decisions were made. He failed on both counts and resigned in dismay. And although he is confident about the future of the 1946 experiment in economic planning, he is worried about the declining stature and influence of the Council of Economic Advisers. Unfortunately, in assigning guilt for that decline he misses what seems the basic reason behind it.

Dr. Nourse's book is in three parts: the first sets forth his premises, (the 1946 experiment is sound), the second his experience as chairman of the Council (constant frustration), and the third his criticism of the law, (the men who administered it) in terms of that experience. Throughout the book, and especially in the second part, there is the implication that Dr. Nourse's failure was largely due to ignorance of the political complexities amid which those he sought to advise had to work. Nothing, of course, could more effectively negate his and the Council's influence upon policy-makers. The same lack of political acumen mars the objectivity of an otherwise valuable book.

The reader is left feeling that if the Council is ever to have the stature Dr. Nourse rightly believes it should have, if economic scientists are really to be "technical advisers on a policy level," and to be effective as such, those who enter the public service will have to learn its craft.

TOM FITZSIMMONS

THE BRANDEIS FESTIVAL

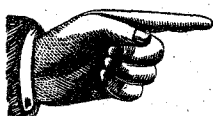
by Theodore Hoffman

THE 1953 Brandeis Festival took "The Comic Spirit" as its theme, and while the big ideas tended to diminish in performance the feature attractions were sufficiently experimental to justify the approval of a buoyant audience. "The Comic Spirit" was meant to have behind it some Meredithian notion of laughter as a liberating social corrective, but freedom from fear (of tape recorders, at any rate) was hardly exemplified by the highly prepared efforts of S. J. Perel-

man, and others, during a "Survey of Comic Techniques." Nor did any profound investigation of the therapeutic effects of light verse emerge from "Comic Poetry" panel.

Louis Kronenberger's all too artificial comedy, *The International Set*, was also disappointing. In writing about a restless contemporary Croesus who takes to collecting people, Mr. Kronenberger apparently intended to distill the quintessence of Restoration comedy into a dose of twentieth century Oscar Wilde. The epigrammatic result was so far from any of the problems of modern life, or modern billionaires for that matter, as to recall Congreve's remark, "it had only in it a great many things that were *like* wit." Eric Bentley staged the piece as a full-scale dramatic reading, with a handsome suggested set in which the performers moved freely about sketching in action and gestures. The sight of highly competent actors, Edna Best, Mildred Dunnock, and Mildred Natwick in particular, in the act of working up the lines offered at least a technical pleasure. The method itself demonstrated that there is a relatively inexpensive way of showing what could be done with a good play, if you had a good play to begin with.

The musical part of the program proved more attractive. There is something commendable about even a student production of Pergolesi's opera buffa, *La Serva Padrona*. Although Morton Gould's facile and tinny *Concerto for Tap Dancer and Orchestra* was more suited to pit than amphitheatre, Danny Daniels' dancing was clever, in spite of his beaming wooden smile, and Leonard Bernstein did make a light and forceful use of the large orchestra for the hit of the Festival, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*. Poulenc turned Apollinaire's hilarious dramatic joke on feminism and the need for universal procreation into an intimate operatic lark, full of witty parody and melodic invention. The singers acted with an agility rare to opera, and it was refreshingly difficult to tell where Max Leavitt's direction ended and Mattlyn Gavers' choreography began. One, or both, was first rate. The New York patrons of Lemonade Opera have something to look forward to, and if the rest of the country catches on to this marvelous little opera, the second annual Brandeis Festival will have escaped being only a shaky near miss.

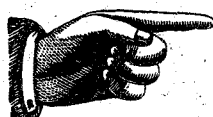


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